178 In 1895 when the island was ceded to Japan the village of Hsiachichou
433 was almost exclusively an agricultural community. Of the thirty or
463 forty families living in the village at that time there were apparently only five who did not derive all of their income from agriculture, these being the village storekeeper, a highly successful shaman whose services were in demand for miles around, and three families who made their liv-
464 ings as boatmen on the Tamsui. If a villager of that day did not want
178 to work as a farmer, or if he did not inherit enough farm land to make his living this way, there was no choice for him but to leave the community to find a livelihood elsewhere. There was no industry in the area which could give him employment, and Taipei was too far away for a person to live in Hsiachichou and work in the city.

178 In the course of the next thirty to forty years changes took place
464 which drastically altered this situation, the precipitating factor
496 being the construction of the Taipei-Hsinchu railroad in 1923. The
433 railroad itself created a number of jobs for coolies and clerks in the Hsulin station, and made it possible for a few men to live in the village and work in Taipei. More important in terms of its eventual effect upon village life, the construction of the railroad stimulated the development of local industry in Hsulin, Panchiao, and other
178 neighboring market towns. In the 1920's and 1930's Japanese develop-
433 ment companies opened large scale coal mines in the foothills to the
[316] west and east of Hsulin; in the early 1920's a winery was built in
[294] Hsulin which by 1930 had grown to be the largest winery on the island;
[256] the winery stimulated development of several smaller industries

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin, and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

less than half an acre. Many were tenant farmers who owned no land at all, cultivating the fields of wealthy landlords in return for some percentage of the annual yield of the land. Until the relocation of the Taipei Hsinchu railroad in 1923, a few landless families made a living transporting local goods down the Tamsui River to markets in Wanhua, Hsinchuang, and Taipei. The only opportunities for industrial employment were in the coal mines of Tucheng and Hsinchuang, and the work there was often sporadic and always poorly paid. The generally low standard of living in Hsiachichou was reflected in the construction of village homes. Although kiln brick and tile had been inexpensively produced in the Taipei region for at least a hundred years, there was no one in Hsiachichou who could afford to build a brick house or to roof his house with tile. Houses were built instead of wattled mud and roofed with thatch. It was not until the early 1920's that the first brick and tile house was constructed in Hsiachichou, and the use of these materials did not become common until the end of the next decade. Of the 47 houses in Hsiachichou in 1935 only 15 boasted a tile roof, and of these only 4 had more than one brick wall. As the older villagers so often put it in describing their former condition, "We were the kind of people who had to sell our rice and eat sweet potatoes."

Living so close to poverty and yet aware of the luxuries enjoyed by their landlords and the wealthier merchants, many families in Hsiachichou must have been tempted to sell one of their male children as a biêng-liêng-kiù:. There was always a ready market for male children on Taiwan, and the price they commanded was for most village families

648 from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit
[631] head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.
632
[191] Many of the men but only a few women learned some
871 Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese
648 school was established in Pouti near the police station and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male, were permitted to attend. It appears that although there were increases as time passed, total attendance never exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 students attend regularly.

648 Economically, there were many improvements. The
177 narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road.
[49] Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very
[316] narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin
[496] Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad
[245] improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations, common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about
[245] the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started
[242] to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varieties, fertilizer, insecticide, and farming techniques in-
[474] creased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties which increased the flow of information to the village.

313 [443] [311] [435] are so low a yard is ready to buy more wood.

A great deal of the mountain land is devoted to wood, especially many of the steeper slopes. The contiguousness of the village to the city of Taipei helps make the wood valuable for its relatively low price per unit of volume would soon consume any long-distance transportation cost.

313 [482] [462] [465] Wood bundles are heavy and usually, given the long distance to the forests, must be carried by hand down the mountains to the roadside or village. Wood for sale is usually carried by men on a piece-work basis with the rate adjusted according to the distance to be traveled. The rate is such that it is difficult to earn the $50.00 level of men's regular wages without a dawn to dusk effort but $40.00 to $45.00 can usually be achieved in the regular 8-1/2 hour day and this is higher than regular women's wages.

462 In agreement with the principle that females are responsible for the kitchen, a woman carried most of the wood used for cooking in her own home. Men may carry wood for their wives on the way home from some other task, but if a special trip must be made for wood to be used in the kitchen, it is expected that a woman will make it.

316 <u>Non-Agricultural Employment</u>

The major means by which Talei Li men earn a living outside farming is in the coal mines which have been

316 commercially important in the area for over fifty years. Prior to World War II, the mines employed only full-time miners but due to the labor shortage during the war, some villagers were added on a part and/or full-time basis. The most recent period is witness to a rapid expansion of industrialization on Taiwan and a consequent increased demand for Taiwan's coal. Coal production in 1965 was 5,054,463 metric tons, the highest in the history of Taiwan (China Yearbook, 1966-7:302). Satisfying the demand for coal has created serious labor shortages which are being overcome by retired Mainland soldiers, migrants from labor-surplus areas, and villagers on a full-time or part-time basis.

316 Some miners live in dormitories near the mines, but others, including all villagers, commute daily. Most mine work is compensated on a piece-work basis. Mines usually operate on shifts for a six-day week. Men may work individually but most often, unite into small permanent work teams which share output equally. Income varies according to the skill, energy, and the richness of a particular vein but the latter factor levels out over time. The average wage is about $80.00 per day with some men consistently earning $100.00. Few men earn less than $70.00 on a regular basis, a rate which is considerably higher than farming wages.

316 464 164 [165] There are serious drawbacks however, for health and safety standards are almost non-existent. Men frequently die in mine cave-ins, one during our study. Sanlei had only a few regular miners, yet three women residents were widowed as a result of mine cave-ins although two of them subsequently remarried. Many of the miners are seriously injured and it is almost assumed that a man with a missing arm or a leg lost it in a mine accident. One man in Sanlei lost his right hand the year before we started the study.

Finally, there is the lung disease of miners, silicosis or the black death. The latter probably also contributes to the higher than average incidence of tuberculosis in men who are miners although tuberculosis is a disease with a high morbidity rate in Taiwan in general. No old man in the area has been a miner in his youth and one of the oldest former miners, now age 58, has tuberculosis. Everyone agrees that it is extremely dangerous to be a miner and many men simply refuse to work in the mines because of the fear of injury or death.

316 464 Yet, because the wages are about the highest for labor and a man is able to work when he might otherwise have idle time and still get off as often as he wants for as long as he wants (thus making it possible to work on his farm during the busy seasons), employment levels remain high. There is no other job which allows a man so much

316 464 income after only about two weeks training. Only seven Sanlei villagers are full-time miners and one of these is a dynamiter who earns a salary of $100.00 per day. A man is usually introduced to a mining job by a relative or friend who takes responsibility for his on-the-job training.

463 In addition to the miners, there are many other kinds of occupational specialists in the Talei Li area such as the barber, carpenter, mason, bicycle repairman, 463 roofer, etc. It is a misconception to consider the Chinese 121 household as a semi-isolated self-sufficient unit. In addition to the penetrations of the government and the market, the high incidence of labor specialization restricts freedom of action for the typical householder. Throughout history, the village and its nearby market town constituted a clear example of the organic solidarity conceived by Durkheim. That is, there is a high level of labor specialization and interdependency. Each individual contributes his own special task activities, the sum total of which fulfill the needs of the collectivity as will be demonstrated.

The various kinds of occupational specialties for 463 which wages may be paid can be placed on a continuum. At 171 one end, the activity can only be performed by an expert; at the other, by anyone. For purposes of illustration, in America, only a doctor can perform operations or a lawyer,

461 over extended periods of time. Functionally, there is likely
182 to be some culturally specified alternative to provide such a proportion of relief time from a potential seven-day work week at twelve hours per day, a period for renewal and relaxation. In China, the traditional alternative is provided through religion as it is in many other parts of the world. Due to the nature of all functional explanations, it is not possible to specify why some other alternative could not have served as an adequate substitute.

The Yearly Work Cycle

316 Those work activities unrelated to agriculture are
221 spread relatively evenly across the year. For example, mining is approximately the same all year, only slightly higher production is required during the cold weather.
221 Listed below by month is the yearly cycle of agricultural
241 activities with an approximate indication of the general need for labor. In order to promote continuity, the cycle is started with February which comes closest to marking a natural starting point.

243 February--Busy. Prepare paddy fields and transplant
245 rice seedlings. Fertilize orange orchards.

221 March, April--Light. Fertilize and weed paddy fields twice. Prepare rice seed bed for second crop. Weed tea plants and commence heaviest harvest. Weed orange trees and apply insecticide.

May, June, Early July--Very Busy. Harvest first rice crop. Prepare paddy fields and plant second crop. Weed tea fields and continue harvest. Weed orange trees, fertilize, and apply insecticide.

178 Tea was added later and since the demand for labor
245 inputs in tea production tend to occur during relatively
464 slack periods in the cycle of rice production, tea helped even out the demand for labor.

Oranges, which were added more recently, are a second leveling factor in the seasonal labor demands because the date when most required work such as fertilizing, spraying with insecticide, and weeding must be completed is not cru-
[243] cial to eventual production quantities. This technology is unlike that for rice which permits few delays in many steps without serious reduction in the eventual size of the harvest. The only requirement in citrus cultivation for large prompt labor inputs comes during the harvest season which falls in December and January when both rice and tea cultivation activities are either non-existent or are at their slackest periods.

178 This ecological and technological adjustment has
562 been a prime factor contributing to the elevation of the
464 status of women. Some agricultural tasks such as tea pick-
[245] ing and tea sorting are considered appropriate only for
[462] women, and other tasks such as orange orchard weeding are
[314] considered appropriate for either men or women. Because there are jobs such as coal mining readily available for mature men in the immediate area around the village, there has been little surplus of male labor exerting pressure to
[288] replace women with men. In the younger age groups, the

512 people say that the entire family should gather to observe
782 the ceremony, rarely is anyone other than the worshipper and
512 small children present. Instead of eating breakfast at the
264 table in a group, as each person is ready, he takes a bowl to the cook who dishes up his food and provides a cup of tea, hot only if a fire has been made. Breakfast is eaten wherever room is available, often while squatting in the courtyard.

512 The first bus passes through the village at 5:45 a.m.
466 picking up two men heading for work in town. By 6:30 a.m.,
[494] all the people who work in town will be gone, two girls on
[493] bicycles joining the two on their way from Tzulei, two factory trucks each picking up their complements of girls,
[316] and the remaining men off to town on bicycles. About this time the miners walk off towards the mines so as to be
[241] ready for work down in the shaft at 7:00 a.m. Those working in the fields, men and women alike, leave at various times depending on travel distance so as to reach the work location by 7:15 a.m. at the latest.

512 All the children in the fifth and sixth grade and
891 half of those in the first through fourth grade head for the Erhlei school which starts at 7:15 a.m., joining the children who are walking from Tzulei. Since anyone late to school will be punished with a whipping, most children arrive early and play on the slides and in the school yard while waiting.